

that we don't have a consumer protection agency undermining that by trying to, again, use financial mechanisms as a way of creating social justice in this country.

Those are three big titles. It seems to me, if we can get agreement there, before the bill comes to the floor, then we can then do all kinds of amendments on the floor. I think there are a lot of good ideas that my friends on the other side have. I think there are a lot of good ideas that would come from this side of the aisle. It seems to me that the best way to have a great debate is to start with a template that is bipartisan and then let people change it in ways they see fit. We can vote on those. To me, that is the best way to go.

I hope that instead of the tremendous interference that is taking place at the White House—I have never seen such involvement in what appears to be the actual drafting of legislation, sending it straight to a committee, and it being voted out. I have never seen such involvement. I hope we can tone that down, that we can tone our rhetoric down as far as trying to blame the other side for how we ended up in this position, when there are a lot of people on both sides who have exercised good faith in trying to get here. It just pushes people apart when these realignment of history discussions take place, when that is not what has happened.

Let's give Chairman DODD and Ranking Member SHELBY some time to work through these issues. That is what needs to happen. They and their staffs need to finish working through these issues, with input from other Members, and then let's have a great debate. I know we have a weekend coming up and the floor will shut down in the next 24 hours or so. I hope the staffs and these two Members will continue to work through the weekend and try to get this bill right. I hope we will quit throwing accusations back and forth and that we will cool down the rhetoric, and I hope we have an opportunity to begin again with a bipartisan template that we can amend and then create some great legislation for this country.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are not. We are on the motion to proceed to S. 3217.

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for as much time as I may need.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE START TREATY

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, I have come to speak about the New START Treaty—Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty—with the Russians. I wish to talk about that in some detail.

A week ago, I and other colleagues were in Russia at a site near Moscow looking at a facility that we in the United States are funding to try to make this a safer world, to safeguard nuclear materials and nuclear warheads in the Soviet Union. I wish to talk a bit about this program as it relates to this new START Treaty.

Some of my colleagues have expressed concern and are determined that they are not necessarily supportive of the START arms reduction treaty unless other things are done. I wish to talk about that just a bit.

First, I will describe the unbelievable succession of something we have been doing called the Nunn-Lugar program, the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program. We talk about what doesn't work and what fails, but we don't talk so much about what does work. I will do that for a moment.

I ask unanimous consent to show three things I have had in my desk drawer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DORGAN. This is a wing strut from a backfire bomber, a Soviet backfire bomber. This is a bomber that would have carried nuclear weapons that would threaten this country as a potential adversary. This is from this airplane. As you can see, this airplane, this backfire bomber, doesn't exist anymore. We didn't shoot it down. I have the wing strut because we sawed it up as part of an arms control and reduction treaty reducing delivery vehicles. This bomber don't exist and carry nuclear weapons because the Nunn-Lugar program helped dismantle that bomber under agreements we have had with the Soviet Union and now with Russia.

This photo is of a typhoon-class ballistic missile submarine the Soviets had. It carried missile launch tubes. This is a missile tube from that submarine. You will see that these tubes don't exist in the submarine anymore. They are now scrap metal. This is copper wire that comes from that Soviet submarine that used to prowl the seas with nuclear weapons threatening our country. This ground-up copper wire from that submarine was not because we sank the submarine but because we have a program by which we reduced the delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons. We and the Soviets—now the Russians—have agreed to a systematic reduction of weapons and delivery vehicles.

This photo is of a missile silo in the Ukraine. This is an SS-18 missile silo. It was blown up as part of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program. This is what is left of the scrap metal.

I have a hinge here from this particular site in the Ukraine that housed a missile that had a nuclear warhead aimed at our country. Instead of a missile being on the ground in the Ukraine, there is now a field of sunflowers. A field of sunflowers is now

planted where a missile that carried a nuclear warhead once existed.

This is unbelievable success, in my judgment, and something we ought to celebrate. With the help of the Nunn-Lugar program Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus are now nuclear weapons-free. Albania is chemical weapons-free; 7,500 deactivated nuclear warheads; 32 ballistic missile submarines gone; 1,419 long-range nuclear missiles gone; 906 nuclear air-to-service missiles gone; 155 nuclear bombers gone. We didn't shoot them down. We didn't destroy them in air-to-air combat or undersea warfare. We paid some money in a program called Nunn-Lugar with the Soviets and Russians to saw the wings off bombers and grind up the metal in submarines and take out missile silos in the Ukraine with missiles aimed at our country. Therefore, it is a safer world. The question is, How much safer and what more do we need to do?

I have previously read a portion of something into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I will do it again ever so briefly.

On October 11, 2001—not many Americans know this—1 month after the 9/11 attack, George Tenet, Director of the CIA, informed the President that a CIA agent, code-named “Dragonfire,” had reported that al-Qaida terrorists possessed a 10-kiloton nuclear bomb, evidently stolen from the Russian arsenal. According to Dragonfire, the CIA agent, this nuclear weapon was now on American soil in New York City. That was 1 month after 9/11. The CIA had no independent confirmation of this report, but neither did it have any basis on which to dismiss it. Did Russia's arsenal include a large number of 10-kiloton weapons? Yes. Could the Russian Government account for all the nuclear weapons the Soviets built during the Cold War? No. Could al-Qaida have acquired one of those weapons? It could have. If a terrorist had acquired it, could they have detonated it? Perhaps. Smuggled it into an American city? Likely.

So in the hours that followed this report on October 11, 2001, 1 month after 9/11, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice analyzed what strategists then called the “problem from hell.” Unlike the Cold War, when the United States and the Soviet Union knew that an attack against the other would elicit a retaliatory strike in greater measure and therefore perhaps destroy both countries, the al-Qaida terrorist organization had no return address and had no such fear of reprisal. Even if the President were prepared to negotiate, al-Qaida had no phone number to call.

This comes from a book that was published by Graham Allison, a former Clinton administration official. I first learned about the incident from a piece in Time magazine, on March 11, 2002. The book that describes the detail of it is pretty harrowing. It is a pretty frightening prospect. I will not read more of it. I have read a fair amount of it.